

# 44th Constitution Amendment Bill —ITS REAL IMPLICATION AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTIES

The 45th Constitution Amendment Bill, now renumbered as the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill, was passed by the Lok Sabha a few days back. The ruling party and the bourgeois Press reported with deep satisfaction that the bill finally emerged with 'all support and no opposition' amidst cheers and desk thumping by the Treasury Bench and the Opposition alike. This Amendment Bill is now offered to the people as the foolproof Constitutional safeguard against any attempt to tamper with the democratic rights of the people.

It comes from the hands of those who promised the people before the last Lok Sabha polls to undo the most heinous mischief of Mrs. Gandhi's Government during the Emergency—the 42nd Constitution Amendment. It is now welcomed as restoring 'quite a large number of rights to the Citizens, which were abrogated through the ill-famed 42nd Constitution Amendment during the Emergency' (Ganashakti, Editorial, 25-8-78) by the willing ally of the Janata Party, the CPI(M), which promised the people to fight for scrapping the 42nd Amendment 'lock, stock and barrel'. The 44th Amendment Bill is the ruling party's long pondered and carefully considered replacement for the 42nd Amendment. Its design will ingrained in it is not difficult to decipher. Nor is it difficult to see why the mock heroes of the parliamentary battle-ground who occasionally raised voice during the clause-wise reading of the Bill earlier, cheerfully approved it in the final round appreciating warmly the manner in which the Union Law Minister steered the bill. The CPI(M), anticipatedly, fell in line with approval. What does this 44th Amendment Bill seek? According to the ruling party, it seeks 'to correct the distortion of the constitution during the Emergency'. The Statesman comments: 'All in all, even if the 44th Amendment does not fulfil the Janata Party's electoral promise to scrap the 42nd Amendment, it nearly does so. Mr. Samar Mukherjee, the leader of the CPI(M) group in the Lok Sabha,

observed during the Parliamentary debate: 'I welcome this bill, for it takes a big step toward annulling the institutions which Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her caucus wanted to put up through the 42nd Constitution Amendment'. (speech of Samar Mukherjee on the 45th Constitution Amendment Bill, published in Bengali in Ganashakti, 25-8-78, translated by us). Thus the ruling party, its ally

decision on the basic structure of the Constitution to the people, restores much of the powers of the courts taken away by the 42nd Amendment, etc. The CPI(M) also takes it on itself to make the people see 'the pro-people aspects' of the 44th Amendment Bill (Ganashakti Editorial, 25.8.78). But who are these people who boast of writing into the Constitution these so-called safeguards? Their identity is better known by their deeds than by their words. What is the attitude of the Janata Governments at the Centre and in the States toward the legitimate democratic movements of the people? They are striking down with a heavy hand on any sign of discontent or outburst of

## We Protest

In the early hours of July 25, in Coimbatore Central Jail, Tamilnadu, Krishnan Chetty, 30 years old peasant leader was hanged.

The news of this hanging came in the newspapers on 5th August. The Janata Government which was committed to release all political prisoners not only made a fun with this promise but outdid even the notorious Emergency regime by deliberately keeping a veil over the news for so many days.

Not only this, the news was withheld from the Lok Sabha the next day

when information was sought there and even the deputationists to the President were not given this news on 3rd August.

This rips open the depth of hypocrisy of the party in power that claims to have restored democracy.

We join with the democratic minded people in voicing our strongest condemnation and protest against this savage act of hanging political prisoner and demand forthwith release of all the political prisoners including those with death sentences.

and the bourgeois Press all welcome the Bill as going a long way, though falling a bit short of the cherished goal, toward restoration and protection of the democratic rights of the people, which were taken away from them during the Emergency. But the most significant feature of the 44th Amendment Bill is that the provision relating to Preventive Detention has been retained. It is argued by the ruling party that the 44th Amendment Bill restores the people's superiority to the Parliament, leaves the final

the people against oppression, tyranny and exploitation. The brutal repressions and atrocities committed by the Governments on the protesting people in Patna, Hyderabad, Panthnagar, Bailadila, Kanpur, Madras and many other places, in which hundreds of people were killed in police firing in a space of a few months speak the attitude of the Janata Government towards the people's legitimate democratic movements. The repression and killings of the refugees in Burdwan, (Contd. to Page 5)

# Proletarian Era

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## SUCI Decides not to Attend The State Function by 'Left Front' Government Com. Sukomal Dasgupta's Statement

Calcutta, August 30:

Com. Sukomal Das Gupta, Secretary, West Bengal State Committee, SUCI in course of a statement has said: "In protest against the rejection of SUCI proposal by the Left Front Government to form a Joint Committee in order to ensure participation of all those political forces who were at the helm of the movement in the matter of deciding the entire programme of erection of Martyr's Column from the beginning to the end, failure to comply with the decision of the then United Left leadership to

erect the martyr's memorial column under its joint auspices as also to act in deference to the wishes of the struggling people of West Bengal and above all in protest against the decision to invite even those forces, in the name of State Function, whose hands were stained with the blood of the martyrs and true to the teachings of the historic food movement—the West Bengal State Committee of the SUCI has decided not to associate itself with the typically formal State Function to be held at Subodh Mullick Square, Calcutta on 31st Aug 1978.

## 'Left Front' Government Rejects Our Proposal Exchange of Letters

The 'Left Front' Government of the state had decided to erect a permanent martyrs' column at Subodh Mullik Square on 31st of August this year, to commemorate the martyrs of the historic food movement of '59. Comrade Sukomal Dasguta Secretary of West Bengal State Committee of our party, wrote a letter to the Chief Minister, Sri Jyoti Basu, on 10th August pointing out the attitude and approach that should guide such a decision to observe a day of such historic importance and erect a memorial column for the purpose. We are publishing, for the information of the people, this letter along with Sri Basu's reply to it, and the final rejoinder by Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta:

Calcutta  
August 10, 1978

Dear Sir,

We have come to learn from newspaper reports that the "Left Front" Government has decided to erect a permanent martyr's column in memory of the martyrs of the heroic food movement of 1959 at Subodh Mullick Square on 31st August, this year.

We are firmly of the opinion that it would be in the fitness of things to organise any such programme under the auspices of all the political forces which jointly conducted that movement against the anti-people policies of the then Congress Government and provided the united leadership. Because, you

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## The Call of 5th August

To the toiling people of India, the 5th of August brings memories steeped in the most profound grief. Two years back, in 1976, the great leader of the proletariat, an outstanding Marxist thinker of this era, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** passed away on this day. Our great leader, teacher, guide and founder General Secretary of our Party himself taught us how the revolutionaries should conduct themselves in their hour of grief, how they should use the occasion to rededicate themselves to the task of forging ahead along the correct revolutionary path to achieve the revolutionary goal. The 5th of August calls upon the toiling people in every corner of the land to pledge themselves to be engaged more and more in the relentless struggle for identifying themselves with the Party and the Revolution in order to be the invincible weapon and the decisive force of history to bring about the emancipation of society from exploitation of all kinds. At numerous Memorial Meetings all over the country, the multitude of our toiling people took the vow to accomplish the revolutionary task which history bestows upon them and fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. The 5th of August is the occasion for them to pledge themselves to turn their grief into their revolutionary strength.

Reports have been reaching us from all corners of solemn and dignified observance of the Memorial Day under the banner of the Party. A brief coverage of the meetings held on the occasion in some of the States appears below.

### DELHI

The Delhi Unit of our Party organised **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh memorial meeting** on the 19th August at the Constitution Club, New Delhi. **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, Member of the Central Committee of our Party was the main speaker and **Comrade Om Prakas Suman** presided. Upholding the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, **Comrade Chanda** explained the revolutionary significance of observing the 5th August. He explained: We have to recall the great revolutionary teachings, and the concrete and living examples of the high revolutionary ethics,

morals and culture which **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the leader of the proletariat, has bequeathed to us. His name will ever shine in the glorious history of mankind for his revolutionary genius in integrating and concretising the general principles of Marxism in the concrete conditions of the Indian situation. His unique place in history will also be remembered for further elucidation and elaboration of Marxism and for developing it to a new height in the post-Lenin period. **Comrade Ghosh** built up the genuine party of the proletariat in this country, the SUCI, to fulfil the historic task which the so-called communist parties had failed to achieve.

**Comrade Chanda** analysed, in the light of the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the concrete political situation obtaining at present in our country and pointed out the current tasks facing

us. He reminded that the principal political task was to break the chain of the capitalist exploitation to free not only the proletariat as a class, but, along with it, other sections of the exploited masses, and the creative faculty of our people and thus win the emancipation of the entire society. **Comrade Chanda** also pointed to how the pseudo-Marxist parties like the CPI(M) and the CPI were now in the race to be the more competent defenders of the moribund capitalist system by trying to come to power at the Centre. And this is the intention motivating their slogan for the 'Left and democratic alternative'. He upheld the teaching of **Comrade Ghosh** on the importance of the correct base political line, higher proletarian ethics and morals. He called upon the people to join forces with the SUCI, the greatest creation of the revolutionary genius of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, and hasten the revolutionary struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed masses from the yoke of capitalism.

**Comrade Gyan Singh**, Secretary of the Haryana State Organising Committee of our Party, also addressed the gathering and urged the people to rise to the occasion and fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

### HARYANA

Eliciting a deep response among the people, a memorial meeting was held at Rohtak on the 20th August. **Comrade Pritish Chanda**, Member of the Central Committee of our Party, was the main speaker on this occasion, and **Comrade Gyan Singh**, Secretary of the Haryana State Organising Committee, presided.

Addressing the gathering, **Comrade Chanda** upheld the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and said that the bourgeoisie, bogged down in ever deepening crisis, was resorting to more and more fascistic measures as its inevitable course in this phase of third acute general crisis of world capitalism.

The democratic norms and principles which the people had established during the anti-imperialist freedom struggle eroded steadily after the Independence and whatever little administrative neutrality was there was now yielding place to administrative fascism. **Comrade Chanda** called upon the people to join hands with the SUCI, the genuine revolutionary party in our country, and to advance along the path of the anti-capitalist socialist revolution to win emancipation from exploitation of all sorts.

**Comrade Gyan Singh**, in his presidential address, discussed some aspects of the great revolutionary life of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and called upon the people to rally round the SUCI to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Ghosh**.

### ORISSA

The Orissa State Committee of our Party observed **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** memorial meeting on the 11th August last in Cuttack. Hundreds of peasants, agricultural labourers, students and youths poured in from different corners of this coastal district of the State. Natural adversities and continuous heavy shower could not deter them from attending the memorial meeting organised to pay tribute to our beloved leader, teacher, guide, and an outstanding Marxist philosopher of the era, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

A well-decorated procession of a large number of participants paraded along the streets of the city at around 3 p.m. evoking inspiration and confidence among the people who were moved by the revolutionary determination and purposiveness of the disciples of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

The meeting was held at the Gourishanker Park and **Comrade Binapani Das**, a prominent leader of the State Unit of our Party, presided. All the district committee leaders, mass front leaders, and also **Comrade Tapas Dutta**, Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of our Party garlanded the

portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. The DYU music squad of the Cuttack city presented the song on our beloved departed leader. **Comrade Mayadhar Nayak**, Vice President of the KKMS, Orissa State Committee, read out the Pledge. **Comrade Chitta Ranjan Behera**, Secretary of the Orissa State Committee of the AIDSO, reminded the audience of the clarion call of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the students and youths at the All India Students' Conference held in Cuttack in 1974.

Thereafter, **Comrade Tapas Dutta**, the main speaker at the meeting, explained the revolutionary significance of the life and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, the great leader of the proletariat. **Comrade Dutta** said: **Comrade Ghosh** concretised Marxism in our soil, founded the SUCI, the only genuine communist party in India, and laid down his life for the cause of revolution. In the process his life has merged with the history of working class movement in this country. Tracing the historical emergence of the great leader of the proletariat, **Comrade Dutta** said: The failure of the so-called communists and socialists to lead the anti-imperialist independence struggle to its logical culmination and the numerous blunders they committed had created setbacks in the working class movement in this country. However, the class was full of an urge for its vanguard detachment and the leader. In this historic juncture **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** emerged shouldering the historic responsibility of upholding the banner of proletarian revolution. **Com. Datta** pointed out: **Comrade Ghosh** has not only enriched and elaborated Marxism-Leninism, he has developed it further covering all aspects of life. He has contributed enormously to the general and specific understanding of **Stalin's** analysis of the third intense general crisis

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of world-capitalism in the post-second World War period. From the early days of the party foundation, **Comrade Ghosh** has emphasised that fascism has become the general feature of world capitalism in this period. The tendency toward fascization has been growing intense in all capitalist countries, irrespective of their degree of development—whether developed or underdeveloped. In this period of the third intense phase of crisis in world capitalism, fascism is the last resort of capitalism. **Comrade Ghosh** has shown by critical analysis that fascism is not synonymous with one-party rule, or military dictatorship. It can raise its ugly head maintaining the facade of parliamentary democracy and within the framework of the two-party parliamentary system.

Com. Dutta reminded the audience of the great teaching of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** that the question of ethics and morality in mass movement was of paramount importance. In the end, Com. Datta urged the audience to grasp correctly the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and take it on themselves to spread his thoughts to every corner of the land. The meeting concluded with singing of the internationale by the DYO music squad.

The mass meeting on the 11th was followed by a programme of a two-day long quotation exhibition of the thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. It was the first of its kind in the city and created a deep impression on the visitors who came from all walks of public life.

On the 12th August, a meeting was organised for the party workers, supporters and sympathisers at the Barabati Stadium. Comrade Provash Ghosh, the President of the AIDSO, explained beautifully the contribution of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the general understanding of the communist ethics, morality and culture. It was he who recognised

**“In politics, although we find so many political parties outwardly representing so many interests and although the monopoly press of our country projects them as divergent forces, but I hold that judged in the perspective of the fundamental political line governing mass movements there are only two sides, only two forces in politics—one, the forces of revolution and the other, the forces of counter-revolution, whatever may be their name or signboard.”**

**—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH**

clearly the problems in the field of culture in the international communist movement. He raised, for the first time, the question of identification of the individual with society in the international working class movement. His own life and his concept of commune life for the professional revolutionaries to conduct an all-out struggle covering all aspects of life are the living examples of the higher ethical and moral standard. Comrade Provash Ghosh appealed to those present to pledge themselves anew to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

A mammoth meeting in memory of our departed great leader was organised at Rourkela Steel Township on the 19th August. Comrade Tapas Datta was in the chair. Comrade Shankar Singh, Member of the Central Committee of our Party and Secretary of the Bihar State Committee, was the main speaker. The meeting created a deep impact on the workers and the middle class people of the township and is a testimony to the growing response of the toiling people to the thoughts of **Comrade Ghosh**.

A well-decorated long procession started from the Industrial Estate and moved along the main thoroughfares of the city before joining the meeting. On the rostrum at the meeting place a portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** was garlanded on behalf of the Rourkela Workers' Union, Rourkela Engineering Workers' Union, Rajgangpur Cement Workers' Union, DSO, and different District Committees of the Party in western Orissa. The Bolangir DSO music squad sang the song on our beloved leader.

Addressing the gathering Comrade Sankar Singh said that in spite of militant movements at several times and sincerity

and sacrifice of the people, no revolutionary change has come about in this country. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** showed that sincerity, sacrifice, devotion, etc., were absolutely necessary, but without the correct base political line to guide the movements to their logical culmination only these could not bring about any revolutionary transformation. In the light of the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, Comrade Singh pointed to the conspiracy of the capitalist class in our country to develop fascism behind the facade of the parliamentary system. The so-called communist parties in this country are finding progressiveness in the Congress and the Janata Party, and are objectively helping the ruling class in achieving its ulterior motive. Comrade Singh cautioned the people about the role of the social democratic parties, particularly those claiming to be Marxist-Leninist and appealed to strengthen the SUCI to combat the growing menace of fascism and achieve the anti-capitalist socialist revolution.

Comrade Tapas Datta, in his presidential address, pointed out the great contributions of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to the treasure-house of Marxism-Leninism. The meeting ended with singing of the internationale.

On the 20th August, at a largely attended meeting of the Party workers, supporters and sympathisers, Comrade Sankar Singh discussed different aspects of the life and teachings of our great leader, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. A quotation exhibition on the thoughts of **Comrade Ghosh** was held next day at the Sector-18 Community Centre, which drew a large number of visitors and made a deep impression on them.

A memorial meeting was held on the 6th August at Delang in Puri District under the auspices of the Puri District Committee of our Party. Comrade Brajabandhu Pradhan, a leading peasant leader and President, KKMS, Delang Block Committee, presided over the meeting. Despite heavy shower on the day, about 1000 people from different villages came to attend the meeting. Comrade Raghunath Das, Secretary of the Puri District Committee of our Party, was the main speaker. Discussing some aspects of the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh** he urged the audience to carry forward the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, and emphasised that this was the correct and the only way to end all sorts of exploitation of man by man. Comrades Dhadia Biswal, Raghunath Behera and Trinath Behera also spoke at the meeting on the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**.

#### BIHAR

On the 16th August a memorial mass meeting was organised at Marhowrah, Saran, Bihar. The meeting was held in the premises of the Harbar Math and was well attended. Comrade Murari Lal presided and Comrade Amar Kumar Pandey, a member of the Bihar State Committee of our Party and General Secretary of the Bihar State Committee of the UTUC (Lenin Sarani) was the main speaker.

The dais, beautifully decorated, projected a large portrait of our beloved leader. It was garlanded by the leaders of the Party present and representatives from different mass organisations—DSO, DYO, KKMF, and UTUC (Lenin Sarani). In his speech, Comrade Pandey dwelt at length on the life and teachings of our beloved leader and pointed out that it was the SUCI alone, guided by the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, which could fulfil the revo-

lutionary task in this country which history bestowed upon us for emancipation of the masses. Comrade Pandey urged the audience to recognise the real character of the social democratic parties, particularly those claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, and isolate them from the main current of mass movements.

Comrades Virendra Kumar and Shyam Sundar Pandey also spoke on the occasion. A two-minute silence was observed at the start of the meeting in memory of the great departed leader. The Pledge was read out by the president.

At Bokaro a memorial meeting was held on the 17th August. Held under the banner of our Party unit the meeting aroused a deep response and respect among the workers and the middle class people of the township. Perceptibly it marks a growing inclination of the population of this steel township for the thoughts and teachings of our great leader and for our Party, which alone has held meetings here under party banner. Comrade Hem Chakraborty presided and Comrade Ashutosh Banerjee a member of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Committee, was the main speaker. Comrade Banerjee explained the revolutionary significance of observing **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh memorial day** and said that the life of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**, in all aspects, reflected the height of proletarian ethics, morality and culture.

Next day, Comrade Banerjee addressed a meeting of the party workers, supporters and sympathisers at Dhanbad and urged them to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

At Jamalpur (Bihar) a memorial meeting was organised on the 5th August under the auspices of the Jamalpur Unit of our Party. Comrade G. P. Singh, Secretary of the Unit, spoke on the teachings and thoughts of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**: A portrait of **Comrade Ghosh** was garlanded and members present took the vow to carry forward the teach-

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## What is Behind the Verbal Duals Between the CPI(M) and Congress-Janata Leaders in West Bengal?

CPI(M) leadership is now engaged in verbal duals with the State Congress and Janata leaders in West Bengal. Both sides accuse each other of violating the norms and fomenting trouble in rural Bengal during this sowing season. CPI(M) leader and chairman of the 'Left Front' Mr. Promode Dasgupta is very much vociferous with brave rhetorics in defence of the sharecroppers while his Comrade-in-arms the Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu declares that the "government would maintain rule of law and would not tolerate any forcible land grabbing". Behind this acrimony and apparently contradictory positions of the CPI(M) stalwarts what is the real situation in West Bengal should be carefully noted by all those who feel slightest concern for left politics in our country.

### CPI(M)'s stance

In a press briefing on 11th August, Mr. Promode Dasgupta, the CPI(M) leader and chairman of the 'Left Front' in West Bengal told the press that strifes were inevitable on land question in the state because the jotedars had grabbed the lands. He further observed that it was not so much important whether there were bloodsheds over land disputes but what was more important an issue was whether the bargadars would get land or not.

Mr. Dasgupta raised the point that out of 35 lakhs bargadars in the state only 8 lakhs could register their rights during the Congress rule. According to him another 5 lakhs have been able to do so during the 'front' regime but what would happen to the rest? Besides, there is also the question of returning back those lands which were distributed to the bargadars during the second UF ministry but subsequently grabbed by the jotedars. He, according to press reporting, has said that the principal land problem is concentration of 40% of cultivable lands in the hands of 4% of households. This, he says, is the position after so much land reforms. As such conflicts in the rural side are inevitable. Therefore, Mr. Dasgupta asserts. "Land hunger is a great hunger which has got to be met." Mark the expression of a leader who is supposed to be 'Marxist'!

However, on the face of it, it may appear that Mr. Dasgupta, his party and the 'Left Front' Government of West Bengal want most radical bourgeois democratic reforms in order to advance the cause of the landless and poor peasants. He has also mentioned in this connection the obstacles in the path of these desired reforms by pointing out the adverse role of bureaucracy, police, Congress and Janata Party as also the bourgeois dailies over and above the resistance of "landlord-money lender profiteer" class.

Brave words indeed! But when conflicts and clashes between opposite class interests of the exploiter and the exploited are but inevitable in a class divided capitalist society and that the exploiters would not voluntarily agree to disgorge all the illicit gains they have under their possession or will not refrain from expropriating the exploited, the only course left for the progress of the society is the struggle of the exploited upto the point of revolutionary overthrow of the exploiting class from the state power. This is the ABC knowledge of Marxism and no 'Marxist' worth the salt can renounce it. Can Mr. Dasgupta, therefore, disagree if he is a 'Marxist' and if he is true to his words that the only course left for the exploited and oppressed peasantry of the state is to build up mighty united movement even for

these modest reforms to break the wall of resistance of the rural vested interest protected and defended by bureaucracy, police, bourgeois newspapers and the branded bourgeois parties?

One might have expected that Mr. Dasgupta's party and the 'Left Front' Government would move towards this only logical direction especially when all these brave words are coming from the party chief! No, he will be sadly mistaken.

So, when Mr. Dasgupta the CPI(M) State Secretary is waxing eloquent on the rights of the bargadars and the opposition that is coming from the vested class, bureaucracy, police etc. his comrade in-arms Chief Minister Jyoti Basu convened a conference of the police officials on the eve of the sowing season and instructed them to collect informations about the probable 'vulnerable spots' where trouble might arise, obviously between the jotedars and the bargadars, poor peasants, and prepare accordingly. Mr. Basu is also repeatedly assuring the rural gentry that in case of any apprehension of trouble, the government will arrange police pickets "if need be ten such pickets", to their entire satisfaction. The Chief Minister sternly warns that 'rule of law' must not be disturbed and in case of any infringement, police (including EFR and BSF now freely being used) will come down heavily.

The Chief Minister is asking the same police and bureaucracy to look to the interest of the bargadars and poor peasants who according to Mr. Dasgupta play a different role. The Chief Minister asks the bargadars and poor peasants to put faith in the Bloc Committee which was composed, to the only exclusion of our Party SUCI, of the representatives, besides from the front constituents and CPI, from

Congress and Janata whom Mr. Dasgupta calls the representatives of the jotedars as also the BDO-JLRO-OC who are also said to be playing a different role. Not only this, even the poor bargadars of Basanti PS in 24 Parganas who were assured by one of the 'Front' constituents of getting record of rights got bullets instead from the jotedars backed by CPI(M). Similar incidents are taking place in different districts and the 'Left Front' Government under the leadership of 'iron-like' Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu is performing its duty as the guardian of 'law and order' with no less alacrity than that shown by the previous Congress Government. No doubt the bourgeoisie have reasons to be very much pleased with the Chief Minister and his Government.

To those who are politically uninformed and unaware, two things may appear puzzling with apparent contradictions. First, how is it that Mr. Dasgupta being the party chief talks in languages different from those of his Comrade-in-arms, the Chief Minister Mr. Jyoti Basu? Is there any difference between the two leaders? Is it because two having occupied two different positions will have to talk differently? All these questions may appear in the welter of confusions both in CPI(M) Party circles as also in the public. But this is just what the leadership wants to conceal both from the ranks as also the people, their real design. We are coming to that.

Secondly, if it is a fact that CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government is in reality serving the rural vested interest then why is there so much hue and cry from Congress, Congress (I) Janata and other known spokesmen of the jotedar and rural vested interest? This is also the part of the game and is therefore intimately connected with the first.

Let us go into the questions. The Janata and Congress leaders are complaining that CPI(M) is

not observing 'rule of law', that they are even violating courts' injunctions and setting up people of their choice as bargadars while evicting those who have been bargadars for long in particular plots or lands and all this.

CPI(M) leader Mr. Dasgupta picks up the issue and speaks heroically about the denial of rights to the bargadars hoping that in the midst of acrimony whipped up nobody would raise the most unpalatable question as to the role and performance of CPI(M) and its peasant's wing in the matter of developing mighty movement of the rural poor and destitute peasants to realise their just demands. He just utilises the situation to show that as all these pro-jotedar parties are opposing them, they surely stand for the bargadars. Mr. Dasgupta and his party should be thankful to the Janata and Congress Leaders!

Why these parties are up against CPI(M)? Does this government in any way disturb the power structure in the countryside? No. Had it been so one would have seen a different spectacle in the politics of the state. Even during the two UF governments in the past, whatever might have been the weaknesses, unethical conducts and gross opportunism in the role and behaviours of CPI(M) leadership, the tone of the movements set by massive participation of the rural poor in certain districts and places caused a fear complex in the circles of jotedars and rural vested interests and they moved in no uncertain manner for the instability of the government. Today the CPI(M) Chief Minister and state secretary claim as their singular achievement that the state is the most peaceful among all other states in India.

Apart from the various pro-jotedar policies and measures of this government, in the last Panchayat election a high percentage of CPI(M) nominees was drawn from the jotedars and rural vested interests

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## CPI(M) Tries in vain to cover up its support to Preventive Detention in 44th Amendment

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atrocities committed on the students in Calcutta, on workers in Santaldih and elsewhere speak the attitude of the CPI(M) led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal to the legitimate democratic movements of the people. These are the parties who posed themselves as champions of democracy against the autocracy of Mrs. Indira Gandhi and promised the people before the elections that they would fight every inch for restorations, protection and extension of the democratic rights. They wanted to earn the people's credentials in this way in order to be installed in the governmental power. Now in power, they are flexing muscles at the slightest hint of discontent and demonstration. At the same time they boast of the so-called constitutional safeguards and restorative provisions in the 44th Amendment Bill. It is plain that these provisions written into the Constitution have no more than paper value in the hand of those who speak of democracy to catch votes, but do not hesitate to resort to anti-democratic and anti-people brutal and repressive measures to safeguard their interest. Judged in this context, the feature of the 44th Amendment Bill that really concerns the people and materially affects them is the provision for Preventive Detention.

When the Janata Government at the Centre had repealed the MISA and withdrawn the Code of Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill a few months back, we cautioned the people: ".....it is quite obvious to the toiling people from their concrete experiences that although the MISA has been repealed, the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill withdrawn and the 45th Amendment introduced, there is hardly any cause for jubilation. The Janata Party has not made any categorical

statement that Preventive Detention will go as a matter of policy and that coercive methods will not be applied against the legitimate democratic movements of the people. Rather the Central Ministers would have the people believe that 'Preventive Detention is not MISA' and they are harping on this tune". (Proletarian Era, 1. 6. 78) It is now amply clear that things have taken shape as we foresaw them. The former Home Minister, Mr. Charan Singh had made a veiled threat at that time that if the people's protest took the form of organised movement, then the use of extra-ordinary power might become a certainty to maintain 'law and order'. The Janata Party however, got a good-performance certificate from its 'Marxist' friends, the CPI(M). Mr. Namboodiripad said that the withdrawal of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill marked a victory of the progressive forces within the Janata Party. Mr. Promode Dasgupta drew a line between the Janata Party and the Congress emphasising that the difference lay in the fact that the Janata Party respected the public opinion as shown by withdrawal of the Criminal Procedure Amendment Bill.

As regards the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill, the CPI(M) has taken essentially the same stand. Of course, this party tells the people that it is not happy over the new Constitutional provision for declaring an internal Emergency if there is an armed rebellion in the country, and that it had moved an amendment in the Parliament to delete this provision. But if the CPI(M) really means it, then why did it not fight tooth and nail against this provision in the Parliament, and why does it not build up a mass movement against the Centre over

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## Rohtak Medical College AIDS O Condemns the betrayal of the movement

Comrade K. S. Lamba, Secretary Haryana State Organising Committee has released the following statement to the PRESS on 13. 8. 78:

It is very much deplorable that the dominant group in the leadership of the striking medicos has reached an accord with Haryana Government and has called off the four month old strike.

It is our considered view that the accord reached on 11th August is a complete betrayal of the strike of the students at the alter of sectarian interests which have nothing to do with the interest of the students.

The strike of the medicos started in protest against the police lathi-charge on the 13th April and raised the demand of "non-interference of police in legitimate democratic movements" along with the removal of the V. C. and full "democratisation" of the M.D.U. The re-takeover of Medical College and Hospital by the Haryana Government is an anti-student, anti-people, undemocratic and fascist step. This is a mere transfer of power from an autocratic V. C. to a much more dictatorial government and bureaucratic administration which includes some corrupt elements of the Medical College. This is no solution to the problems confronting the institution. Rather, it will increase and aggravate the problems of students.

The real solution to the problem lies in full "democratisation" of the institution with equal representation from students, teachers, employees and organised social forces and non-interference of Police in the Medical Campus and in ensuring freedom to form and function students' own organisations in the campus.

We strongly oppose and condemn the re-takeover of the Medical College

## Comrade Sukomal Dasgupta Protests Center's Decision to Decontrol Sugar and Restriction on Flood news in West Bengal ON SUGAR DECONTROL

Calcutta, August 18:

"We strongly protest against de-controlling of sugar by the Central Government. We are astonished to find that the Central Government has drawn no lesson at all from the consequences of lifting of inter-state cordoning system imposed earlier on rice and wheat. The present decision will simply lead to a sharp rise in the price of sugar and black-marketeers and profiteers will be the only ones to benefit from this policy. Increase in price of sugar immediately after the announcement has already substantiated our apprehension.

"We are of the firm opinion that introduction of all-out state-trading in essential commodities alone can ensure regular supply of commodities at a fair price and assure remunerative prices to poor peasants and cultivators.

"We note with deep concern that although the 'Left Front' Government of the State has expressed concern over this decision of the Central Government it has taken particular care so that no effective mass movement can develop against the Government. The State Government has not even taken any effective measures to check this steep price-rise in foodgrains, let alone introducing all-out state-trading in essential commodities.

"While condemning this decision, we demand immediate introduction of all-out state-trading in essential commodities and regular supply of essential items of foodgrain such as sugar, at fair prices and even at subsidized rates, if necessary, keeping in view the lower purchasing power of the people."

## RESTRICTION ON FLOOD NEWS

Calcutta, August 24:

"We cannot but wonder at the restrictions said to have been imposed on the local administrative authorities by the State Government regarding supply of informations about flood situation, according to newspaper reports.

"It is reported that the Chief Secretary of the State Government has instructed the local administrative authorities through a circular not to issue any report on flood situation to the Press and the people. According to the said circular only the Chief Secretary has been empowered to release any information regarding the by the Haryana Government and the betrayal by the "leadership-clique" in their vested interest at the cost of students' interests. All should rise and frustrate this autocratic and fascist step.

flood situation in the State.

"In a situation like flood the gravity of which is easily understandable, when the fate and future of millions is involved and that is why when it is all the more necessary for the people to be well informed about the developments in flood situation so that they may stand by the flood victims, it is the local administration that can better supply the correct and upto-date position. Under the circumstances, the Government's recent restriction on the dissemination of news in the Press reminds us of the days of pre-censorship during the Emergency and bespeaks of shrewd device to shield from the public the Government's probable failings in discharge of its solemn duties and responsibilities in a matter like flood situation in the state."

(Contd. from Page 3)

ings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and fulfil his behest. Com. S. P. Gupta sang mass songs befitting the occasion.

#### TAMIL NADU

At Madras LLA building on the 13th August a memorial meeting was held to observe **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh Memorial Day**. Comrade N. V. T. Raj presided and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a leading organiser of our Party, was the main speaker. On behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, Comrade Chakraborty garlanded a portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Comrade Jabbar, on behalf of the Madras Unit of the Party and Comrade Raj, on behalf of the DSO, Madras Unit, garlanded the portrait. The Pledge was read out at the start of the meeting. Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, in his speech, explained the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. He recalled how **Comrade Ghosh** along with a handful of revolutionary compatriots, undertook the most arduous and painstaking task of building up a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat in our country and embarked in an all-embracing struggle covering all aspects of life. In the light of the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, Comrade Chakraborty exposed the despicable role of the social democratic parties like the CPI(M) and CPI and urged the audience to strengthen the SUCI formed by **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** to lead the anti-capitalist Socialist Revolution through to success.

#### KERALA

Responding to the call of the Central Committee of our Party, the common people of the State evinced deep enthusiasm and respect for our departed great leader, teacher and guide, **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. The State Organising Committee took up a programme of intensive campaign to reach the people at large with the great revolutionary thoughts of

**Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Several group and public meetings have been held. Judging by the attendance and response, the growing attachment of the people for the great leader of the proletariat and the Party has been evident more than ever.

On the 16th August a mass meeting was organised at the Railway Station Maidan, Quilon, by the Quilon District Organising Committee. Another mass meeting was held in Trivandrum city at the Overbridge Maidan by the Trivandrum District Organising Committee on the 18th August. The Kundara Local Committee under the Quilon District Committee also organised a mass meeting at Mukkada Junction on the 21st August. In all these meetings Comrade Krishna Chakraborty, a prominent leader of our Party was the main speaker. Comrade James Joseph, Secretary, Kerala State

**“...Those who talk of revolution but lead the life of a bourgeois or petty bourgeois, who can take classes on revolution but whose conduct and behaviour, taste and habits and nature of social relations are typically influenced by the vile bourgeois and petty bourgeois culture, whose personal life has no consistency with nor is guided by the Marxist philosophical outlook and in fact those who are not willing to conduct that painstaking struggle covering all aspects of life—I would request you all, please do not run at least to those slogan-mongering revolutionaries to learn Marxism or the theory of revolution.”**

—COMRADE SHIBDAS GHOSH

Organising Committee of the Party, also spoke. Comrade C. K. Lukose, a member of the State Organising Committee and Quilon District Secretary of the Party, took the chair at both Quilon and Trivandrum meetings. Comrade A. Jalaluddin, a member of the State Organising Committee, took the chair at the Kundara meeting. Portraits of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** were garlanded in the meetings and the Pledge was read out.

Speaking at these meetings, Comrade Krishna Chakraborty dealt elaborately on the history of the communist movement in India in the light of the teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Discussing at length the theories of National Democratic and People's Democratic

Revolution, **Comrade Chakraborty** showed how the CPI, the CPI(M) and the CPI(ML) were painting the real enemy of the people, the national bourgeoisie, as their friend, and were misdirecting the mass movements thereby and helping the bourgeoisie to consolidate further its exploitative rule. Pointing to the bourgeois design to introduce the two-party parliamentary system in the country, and the role of the social democratic parties, particularly the CPI(M) and the CPI in collaborating with the ruling class, **Comrade Chakraborty** reminded the great teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**

that the three prerequisites for successfully conducting the revolution are the correct base political line, genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat and political power of the people. Com. Chakraborty appealed to the people to strengthen the SUCI to

#### ANDHRA PRADESH

The Kurnool Town Organising Committee of our Party organised a memorial meeting on the 11th August in the premises of the Municipal High School of the town. There was a heavy downpour on the day, but even then the organisers drew admiration for their discipline and determination. Comrade B. Srinivasa Rao, Secretary of the Town Organising Committee of our Party, presided over the meeting and Comrade Krishna Chakraborty was the main speaker. The meeting began with Comrade Chakraborty garlanding the portrait of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Following him, Comrade Rao, on behalf of the Town Organising Committee, Comrade Venkateswarlu, on behalf of the AIDS, Com. Ratnaswamy, on behalf of the DYU, and Comrade Lashanna, on behalf of Bidi workers of the town, garlanded the portrait.

capitalist class, in the name of fighting against the ghost imperialism and feudalism and were strengthening the capitalist system in the process. These parties, right from their inception, have been blindly copying the revolutionary programmes of Russia or China without taking into account the concrete conditions of India. Upholding the teaching of **Comrade Ghosh** in this context, Com. Chakraborty said that Marxism was the science of all sciences. We will have to grasp its general principles and apply them to the concrete conditions in a given context. **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** concretised Marxism on the Indian soil and built up the only genuine revolutionary party in our country, the SUCI. Comrade Chakraborty then proceeded to explain how the CPI(M) was frantically trying to emerge as the third alternative enjoying the favour and confidence of the bourgeoisie within the framework of the two-party parliamentary system which the ruling class now sought to introduce in this country. He pointed to the non-Left anti-people character of the various policies and measures of the CPI(M)-led 'Left Front' Government in West Bengal.

In the end, Comrade Chakraborty appealed to the audience to strengthen the SUCI to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**.

#### MADHYA PRADESH

Under the auspices of the Jabalpur Unit of our Party, a memorial meeting was organised on the 5th August. The meeting began with garlanding a portrait of our beloved departed leader. Members of the unit sang the song composed on the great leader. The revolutionary vow was then taken.

Comrades Savan and Satyapriya discussed some aspects of the revolutionary life of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh** and urged everybody to rise to the occasion and stand as 'one man' to fulfil the behest of **Comrade Ghosh**. The meeting concluded with singing of the internationale.

Addressing the gathering, Com. Krishna Chakraborty explained the revolutionary significance of the thoughts and teachings of **Comrade Shibdas Ghosh**. Referring to a teaching of **Mao Tse-tung**, the great architect of the Chinese Revolution, quoted at the tenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, Comrade Chakraborty said that it was the base political line and not the numerical strength which was the determining factor in accomplishing the revolutionary task. Tracing the historic emergence of our Party, Com. Chakraborty explained, in the light of the teachings of **Comrade Ghosh**, how the so-called Marxist-Leninist parties like the CPI(M), the CPI etc. were collaborating with the real enemy of the people, the

## COMRADE PRITISH CHANDA Member of the Central Committee of Our Party PRESENTS HIS VIEW AT THE MEETING ON CAMPUS PROBLEM Convened by Central Education Minister

Of late, when the student community in the country is bursting forth in discontent over various legitimate demands and student movements are growing in different parts of the country the Janata Government at the Centre and different State Governments are out to suppress them branding these as 'indiscipline' and 'lawlessness'. In this background the Union Education Minister recently invited leaders of different political parties in the country to a meeting to discuss the problem of 'indiscipline' and unrest among the students and to devise ways and means to end them. On behalf of our Party, Comrade Pritish Chanda, Member of the Central Committee, attended the meeting.

Exactly in tune with the previous Congress Government the Union Education Minister of the Janata Government, Dr. Pratap Chandra Chandra, held politics to be responsible for the present student unrest. According to him, students and teachers may have the right to take part in politics outside the educational campus but they should not have it inside the campus. Representatives of other left parties, the CPI(M), RSP and Forward Block, constituents of the 'Left Front' in West Bengal for example, also participated in the discussion. Representatives of the Forward Block and the RSP concurred with the Union Education Minister that politics should not be allowed inside the campus. They also opposed the legitimate democratic demand that 'police must not enter into the educational campus' and 'police must not be used to crash legitimate movements of the students.' Representatives of these parties observed that under the 'changed' context it was not possible to stop police entry into the educational campus. So, they demanded that the right to decide the legitimacy of any student movement should rest with the State Government concerned. They also supported the so-called arguments like 'higher education is not for all' and 'merit should be the criterion for admission' which right from the days of the Congress are being advanced as a cover for the conspiracy to restrict higher

education. The CPI(M) General Secretary Mr. EMS Namboodiripad was also present at the meeting. He assured the Central Government of full co-operation from their side if the government wanted to solve the problem. The formula he put forward to solve the problem laid particular emphasis on allowing representation to students, teachers and guardians in the Senates and Syndicates of the universities but he also added that the government should have the final say in the matter of decision.

On behalf of our Party, Comrade Pritish Chanda drew attention in the first place to the fact that the student unrest in universities and other educational institutions should not be viewed in isolation from the overall socio-economic background of the country. The student unrest is nothing but a reflection of the wide spread discontent of the oppressed masses against the capitalist exploitation in the country. But instead of recognising this objective reality the Janata Government has been striking down with a heavy hand on the spontaneous outbursts and legitimate demands of the students on the plea of 'indiscipline', 'disorder' and 'lawlessness'. In this respect, all the State Governments irrespective of political colour or nomenclature are pursuing the same policy. But none of them care for reorienting the education system on the basis of democratic, scientific and genuine secular values in place of the

present system carrying the religious and imperialist legacy. This system of education is being continued and conducted with the sole purpose of serving the ulterior class interest of the ruling capitalist class which has been passing it under the name of 'national interest'. For the last twenty years or more the student community has been treated as guinea-pigs for the so-called experiments on syllabus, pattern of education, curriculum and examination system. As a result, the whole education system and the standard is sharply deteriorating and the sphere of education is engulfed in a state of extreme anarchy. Under the circumstances, to point to the students as responsible for the state of affair is not only erroneous but also clearly motivated. By this, the ruling class is simply trying to hide the truth and cover the real problem. Comrade Chanda pointed out that it was strange indeed that the Janata Government and even the 'Left Front' Government came to power the other day through the student movements which are now finding 'lawlessness' in the same. When these leaders were in the opposition, they supported the student movements only to reap benefits or for any other reason whatsoever and the government of Mrs. Indira Gandhi decried the movements as 'lawlessness' and 'indiscipline'. Today, those very parties and leaders are out to suppress brutally the movements while the Congress and Mrs. Indira Gandhi are urging the students to build up movements in the country! Such nasty game of the bourgeois parliamentary politics has been going on in our country. Even if it may appear strange to many, the reality is that the so-called left parties too are now party to this heinous bourgeois parliamentary game of two faced

policy. The leaders of the present government, now after coming to power are not only violating their own minimum promises to the students but are also brutally suppressing the student movements with the help of police and military. They assert that the students must not resort to politics inside the campus. But the question arises if the students are not allowed to take part in politics inside the campus where else would they do so? As social beings the students too have the legitimate right to ponder over the social problems and the country's well being, to conceive and express their opinion and conduct movements to solve these problems. And since they have this right and feel the responsibility they can do it best only inside the campus. So it is ridiculous to question the propriety of their taking part in politics inside the campus. Actually, it is nothing but a conspiracy to destroy student movements in the country which the British imperialists have done, the Congress has done for all these years. And now, the Janata and the so-called left parties try to do the same.

As some instances of repression of student movements by the police, Comrade Chanda referred to the incidents of brutal oppression of the students in the Rohtak Medical College in Haryana, Vanibihar University in Orissa and the medical students in West Bengal.

In the end, Comrade Chanda said that these facts corroborate that in spite of differences in vocabulary and colour all the State Governments and the Central Government—whether the Congress, Congress (I), Janata or the 'Left Front' Government, all are equally eager to demonstrate their capability to ruthlessly put down the legitimate movements of the students and that they all show the same total negligence towards needs and grievances of students. But the legitimacy of the demands raised by the students cannot be questioned in any

way. Comrade Chanda argued that if the government really wanted to solve the problem of student unrest it must take proper steps to meet the following demands:

i) Democratization of education system i.e. introduction of democratic functioning in the field of education and democratization of curriculum, syllabus and system of teaching. In place of the present religion oriented education truly secular, universal and scientific education should be introduced.

ii) The present bureaucratic governmental control over the universities and educational institutions must be withdrawn and the relative democracy and independence in education must be restored with due regard.

iii) Police must not be allowed to enter the educational campus and trample its democratic heritage.

iv) While appointing Vice-Chancellor or Administrator in educational institutions, the practice of serving petty party interest must be stopped.

v) The ruling party must not interfere in the autonomous sphere of the universities or educational institutions in its petty party interest.

vi) Curtailing the expenditure of the police budget expenditure on education should be increased!

vii) Restriction on higher education on any pretext must go and any such policy and measures must be withdrawn.

viii) The student union election in the Universities and colleges must be made free and fair.

ix) The right of the students to organise demonstrations and legitimate movements must be protected.

x) The demand raised by the 'Left Front' that the right to judge legitimacy of any student movement should rest with the government is totally irrational and undemocratic. So, it cannot be accepted at all.

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## Verbal Duels Between the Leaders of CPI(M) and Congress-Janata

(Contd. from Page 4)

who are rallying in large numbers behind this party. This caused revolt in the ranks of CPI(M) thousands of whom contested the party nominees as independent candidates. Not only this, in a recent public pronouncement, Mr. Dasgupta has exhorted his party men to see the unique opportunity of expanding the party base when the jotedars are losing confidence in their old party Congress and the new one, the Janata.

Congress, Congress (I) and Janata leaders are reacting because CPI(M) is resorting exactly those means, rather with more fineness, to woo the support of the jotedars and rural vested interests which they did or are doing wherever they were or are in power. Congress, Congress(I) and Janata leaders are witnessing that the bulk of the jotedars and rural vested interest are moving from their's to CPI(M)'s fold. This means these parties are fast losing their rural bases in parliamentary politics. This is the reason why these parties are raising so much hue and cry. It is well known in West Bengal that after the rigged election of 1972, Congress evicted large number of genuine share-croppers to induct in their place new ones who could be used as pliant tools at their hands with the help of police, bureaucracy, RG parties and the roughs under their protecting umbrella. By offering jobs to the rural poor at the cost of the old bargadars, Congress served the jotedars doubly by supplying cheap labour who would not revolt as also by breaking the legitimate democratic movements of the share-croppers, landless and poor peasants. No doubt it was a fascist device.

Is not CPI(M) following the footsteps of Congress? Is it not also bringing new' bargadars in place of the old ones who have been struggling hard to keep

their foothold on plots of lands, for long? Is it not a fact that CPI(M) is trying to deceive the people by this device of induction of 'new' bargadars in place of the old ones by passing it for their fight to record the rights of the bargadars? And in this game, is not this party pressing into service the government machinery—police, bureaucracy and even using the anti-socials as Congress did? It is even trampling upon the settlement records or on the spot enquiries to deprive the bargadars of their rights if they do not support this party. CPI(M) leader is talking loud about the rights of the bargadars but his party men in the districts are giving shield of protection to those jotedar families who have struck deal with the party.

So, it is not a case of sharpening the class battle between the jotedars and the oppressed peasantry and CPI(M) taking its position with the latter. It is altogether a different story. CPI(M) as a social democratic party after having tasted governmental power has anchored in the safe parliamentary politics. When in opposition it participated in the democratic movement of the oppressed people from the same ambition in parliamentary politics. Today, after having earned the trust and blessings of the bourgeoisie and having set before it the goal of becoming the third alternative in two-party bourgeois parliamentary design, it is now only interested to cling to governmental power anyhow. It has forsaken the path of mass struggle and is showing its worth to the bourgeoisie even by ruthlessly crushing the democratic movement of the oppressed people. It is now moving to stabilise its position in the parliamentary politics by winning the confidence of the jotedar and vested interests in the countryside just as it has established its rapport with the different chambers of commerce in the industrial field. The

## EXCHANGE OF LETTERS

(Contd. from Page 1)

can very well recall that it was the decision of the united committee of the left parties at that time to construct a permanent martyr's column to commemorate this historic occasion and accordingly a fund, however meager, was jointly raised by all the constituent parties for this purpose.

We would, therefore, request the "Left Front" Government to act in deference to the wishes of the struggling people of West Bengal and to form a joint committee in order to ensure the participation of all the political forces that constituted that united leadership for deciding the entire programme from the beginning to the end.

Yours sincerely,  
Sd/- Sukomal Das Gupta  
Secretary,  
West Bengal State  
Committee, SUCI

Calcutta  
August 21, 1978

Dear Sri Das Gupta,

Kindly refer to your letter dated the 10th August, 1978 regarding erection of Martyr's Memorial Column at Subodh Mallick Square, Calcutta.

The column will be unveiled in a State Function by the Chairman of the problem before the CPI(M) leadership is how to meet the both ends—how to appease and assure the rural vested interests and at the sametime keep up its left image to the toiling people. That is why the CPI(M) leadership has made a mutual division of jobs. While Mr. Jyoti Basu, the Chief minister assures the bourgeoisie with strong arm method in suppressing democratic movements of the people, his party secretary Mr. Promode Dasgupta tries to hoodwink the toiling people with brave rhetorics. This is the typical social democratic treachery to the cause of the toiling people that the CPI(M) leadership is resorting to being the last prop of crisis-ridden capitalism which no amount of brave talks can hide.

Left Front Committee on the 31st August, 1978. Representatives of Political Parties including the SUCI will be invited to join in the function and pay homage to the martyrs. We do not think that there is any necessity for constituting any Joint Committee of political parties for the purpose.

With regards,  
Yours sincerely,  
Sd/- Jyoti Basu

Calcutta  
August 25, 1978.

Dear Jyoti Babu,

We have received your letter dated August 21, 1978 in reply to our letter dated August 10.

Your letter has completely disappointed us not so much because you have rejected our proposal of forming a Joint Committee to decide the entire programme regarding

## 44th Amendment

(Contd. from Page 5)  
this issue? Which is the genuine safeguard for democratic rights in the bourgeois system? Mass movements or Constitutional amendment? The CPI(M) shows exuberance in praising the Centre for writing into the Constitutional amendment the so-called safeguards for democratic rights, but even a meagre fraction of this energy has not been expended in the faint protest it lodged against the provision for Preventive Detention and Internal Emergency on grounds of armed rebellion. That is why the bill had its final passage in the Lok Sabha 'with all support and no opposition' and the CPI(M) leader Mr. Promode Dasgupta merely expressed 'unhapi-

## View on Campus Problem

(Contd. from Page 7)

xi) Full political right of the students and teachers must be protected.

xii) Police torture and atrocity on students is the root cause of trouble inside the campus. So, the entry of police into the campus must be stopped. Along with this, the heinous practice of crushing legitimate student movements with the help of anti-socials and

erection of martyr's column on 31st August next at Subodh Mallick Square, as because we have failed to impress upon you the norm that should be adhered to as also the political significance of this historic occasion to act in deference to the wishes of the struggling people of West Bengal by commemorating it jointly ensuring participation of all the political forces who were at the helm of the food movement of 1959.

Naturally, any invitation to the political parties to pay homage to the martyrs in the proposed State Function of unveiling the martyr's column becomes just a formal affair.

With regards,  
Yours sincerely,  
Sd/- Sukomal Das Gupta,  
Secretary,  
West Bengal State  
Committee, SUCI.

ness' and no intention to organise mass movement against these most undemocratic provisions written into the Constitution Amendment Bill.

What accommodates all the mock fighters of the parliamentary battle ground in the same boat over the issue of the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill is not difficult to seek. The CPI(M) is trying to emerge as the third alternative on the national plane and vie with the others—the Janata Party, the Congress, the Congress (I) etc.—to thrust itself into the choice of the ruling class in the two-party parliamentary system now sought to be introduced in this country by the bourgeoisie. The CPI(M)'s role with regard to the 44th Constitution Amendment Bill is just an example of the present political object of this party.

goondas under the patronage of the ruling party must be stopped.

xiii) Above all, the present inimical attitude of the authority towards students, teachers and gurdians must be changed, and instead, a congenial atmosphere for discussion and exchange of ideas and views should be created. Only this will reflect a genuine democratic attitude as against the autocratic attitude.